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a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approached only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)*—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

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A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiititohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana*, grandfather; *tupuna vehine*, grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna*. Great-grandparents were *peka*, great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau*, and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina*. These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama*, grandson, and *moupuna mo'i*, granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina*.

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata)*. Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una*, there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai*, literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o*, to take; *maohi*, to seize or take; and *hopu*, to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai*, foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama*, children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa*, boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e*, girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu*, an adolescent girl; *ahana*, males of virile age; and *vehine*, women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua*, old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o)*, old women. 601 561

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 604 605 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 604 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 834 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other